tisue to be held at Constantinople. Lord Stratford has proposed to restrict the power of the Sheikhel-Islam and of the Mollahs to religion, and to intreduce a code of civil and criminal law beside the Keran. I doubt whether such a scheme could be carried out, even if backed by the armies of the Allies. The Sultan might as well at once become A. P. C. a Christian.

LONDON, Friday, Feb. 8, 1856.

England, which in 1853 drifted into war, is now silently drifting toward peace. The feeling is universal that the suspension of hostilities has happened at the most inopportune moment, just when all the shortcomings of the former Administration had been overcome, and the senile stupidity of generals by aristocratic patronage had given place to the common sense of younger chiefs; when the Seets are at last in a state of complete efficiency; when the money which suffices to insure the hamiliation of Russia has already been speut, and a short campaign might have brought about the most splendid results. Still. Parliament has resolved to leave the negotiations altogether in the hands of Ministers, and not to embarrass the proceedings of the Peace Congress by any indiscreet speeches. The nation seems fully to ratify the resolution of the Commons and no meetings are held, and scarcely any leading article is written in the papers which might be construed into want of confidence in the Ministers during the present most important erisis. People do not deny that England must go wherever Napoleon leads her. When two persons sit upon one horse, one of them must mit behind; and in the present case it is evident that it is not England who holds the reins. Accordingly a certain uncasiness pervades society but no Englishman, however much he may gramble on account of the negotiations, suspects Napoleon of bad faith toward England, nor believes he is in Russo-French alliance. Everybody shut his eyes to all those indications which for the continent are sufficient to show the future current of European politics-for instance, the laudation of France in the St. Petersburg Official Journal, and the attacks of the semi-official French papers on the English daily press which "faus the embers of war." Mr. Duveyrrier's pamphlet on the necessity of a European Congress, which so truthfully foreshadowed the occurrences of the last six weeks, was pooh-poohed by the English, and in a similar way they now do not attach any importance to the Vicomte de la Rochejacquelin's last political publication, which advocates the Russian alliance as the the true basis of French foreign policy. La Rocheacquelin was originally a Legitimist, but he has given his adhesion to the present Emperor, who makes use of his old aristocratic name to give a wide circulation to the intended flank movement of his policy, which the English do not like to per-

The foreign politics of Europe being now tabooed is Parliament, we expected at least to hear something definite about the American difficulties from Lord Palmerston, since Mr. Henry Baillie had given notice of a question about the enlistment in foreign countries, for yesterday night. We were disappointed, for though Mr. Baillie belongs to the Tory opposition, Lord Palmerston has found some means to induce him to alter the wording of his notice, and to restrict it to the arrest of Mr. Cartis, the English Consul at Cologne, and to the communications of the authorities of the Hanse Towns referring to the enlistment. Thus the dispute with the United States was left out of the question; but Lord Palmerston objected, even in this resericted form, to the production of any correspondence connected with the matter, and thought-probably with a reference to the Crampton affair-that no advantage would result from the publication of the

communications with Prussia and Hamburg. If we are allowed to prognosticate, we may say that the present session of Parliament promises to be fruitful of many salutary reforms. The bill introduced by Mr. Rob. Lowe, President of the Board of Trade, on limited liability and parenership, has given much satisfaction. The rural police measure is likewise less objectionable than was exeted, and the plan of the reform of the Corpora of the City of London has been concerted with the eity authorities previous to its introduction into the House. The Ministry seems to consult public epinion on all questions of home politics. Ireland has also ceased to embarrass the Cabinet. It is not even necessary to bribe Irish members by the wholesale since the Pope's brass band is disorganized. Thus, we can say that no serious opposition now exists in the House of Commons. The peers are less easily satisfied. The creation of a peerage for life, by calling Baron Parke to the House of Lords under the title of Lord Wensleydale, has roused the energies of the aristocracy. The preregative of the Crown, as regards the creation of life peers, was questioned yesterday; and though the Lord Chancelor stood manfully up for the Government and the Crown, stating that such life peerages are expedient, all the other Law Lords-Lord Lyndhurst, Lord St. Leonards, Lord Campbell and Lord Brongham-voted with the opposition, which sent the question before the Comm thee of Privileges. After a long discussion, the House divided, and the Government was besten by a majority of 33 (138 against 105). But there is only the aristocracy to fight the battle of hereditary privileges against the Crown. The middle classes side evidently with the Government, and see a triumph of their own principles in the intreduction of a new element into the constitution of the House of Lords, which, if more fully develeped, cannot fail to lower the position of the Peers and to break any eventual aristocratic obstinacy. The only suspicious point in the transaction is that the Government thus encroach upon the privileges of the Peers and introduce a change of the Constitation de facto without the previous sanction of Parliament, and even without consulting the Judges upon the legality of the proceeding. From this point of view the measure will very likely be examined by the Commons likewise, as in time it may become a dangerous precedent even for their House.

THE AMERICAN DIFFICULTY-AFFAIRS OF FRANCE. Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune

LONDON, Friday, Feb. 8, 1856. Except the venal gentry of the Ministerial press, nobody in England seems to believe much in our Anglo-American difficulty. Some people consider it a trick to withdraw attention from the peace negotiations. Others pretend that Palmerston will push on to a mutual recall of Embassadors, when he will go out, as Pitt did before the peace of Amiens, to return when a truly English Minister is again wanted. From the manner in which the dispute is maintained very clever people look upon the whole as a simple election dedge of the President. The Democratic press beholds Bonaparte behind the scenes, delighted in fanning internacine war between the Anglo-Saxons on either side of

the Atlantic. Everybody else is quietly convinced that there is no: the least chance of hostilities, however high official language may run. This view, we observed, is entertained also by the French Government paper, the Constitutionael, which offers its master as pacificator for the New as well as for the Old World.

The principal circumstance not to be lost sight of in estimating this affair is the almost virtual ext petion of the entente cordiale between England and France, more or less openly confessed by the English press. Take, for instance, The London Times, the paper which not long ago proclaimed this Bonsparte a much greater man than the real Napoleon, and proposed to expel all the vicious people who would not bow to that creed. In a ading article it now suggests that the only obstacle to peace is Bonaparte's over-cagerness for it. This is fellowed up by another article hinting that the "chosen instrument of Providence" is, after all, a mere pis-aller of French society, accepted because there was not to be found one single man in whom the nation could place its confidence and esteem." In a third article it de-"dence and esteem." In a third article it de-nounces his whole staff of generals, ministers func-tionaries, &c., as a motley band of stockjobbing desperadoes. The language of the provincial press of England is even less reserved. Observe, on the other hand, the altered tone of the French journals-their fulsome adulation and flattery to Rusis: so singularly contrasting with their moderate antipathy for Ergland. Further, observe the very confident menaces of a general Continental coalitien held out by the Austrian, Belgian and litin held out by the Austrian, Belgian and Prusian papers. Lastly, take the Russian press which in its peace homilies estentatiously addresses itself to France alone, without as much as mentioning England. "A rainbow of peace," says the Nordische Bilne, "has appeared in the "horizon, and has been joyfully hailed by all friends of civilization. . . . In these two "years of wer with Four Powers the Russian people has given a striking proof of its great and nombre character, and has carned the respect of its "coemics. As regards France, it may be posiecemies. As regards France, it may be post tively affirmed that the French nation loves and respects the Russians, admires their courage and self-denial, and takes every opportunity of ex-pressing its sympathy, as it did when there was a short suspension of hostilities in the Crimea. as also when Russian prisoners passed through France. The French prisoners, on their part, have been treated by the Russians like brothers. Le Nord of Brussels bluntly intimates that Bona parte cultivated the Au-trian mediation from the eginning with the view to throw off the English alliance at the first opportunity.

The alliance with France then being about to he supplanted by a rupture with that country, England, still at war with Russia, evidently can-not mean to embark in a war with America, and ti is plain that no importance, beyond what has been pointed out, can attach to the present difficulty between the two Governments.

Peace in Europe itself is by no means certain. With regard to the conditions presented by the

Allies to Russia: the fact is there is hardly the appearance of a concession in their acceptance. The cession of a problematic strip of land in Bessarabia, marked out by a mysterious chain of mountains not to be discovered on any map is more the Russian acquisition of Kars, suspiciously meatiened since in a Petersburg paper as a Russian province. Meanwhile, the advantages of an arlistice, together with the other opportunities in the course of turning up, do not make it improba-ble that Russia, having had the time to concen-trate her forces on all the decisive points, may wish to continue the war. The great pledge of peace, however, is the absolute necessity for Bonaparte to conclude it at any price. On the one band the means for carrying on the war are failing him; on the other hand there is growing up a necessity of repeating the Crimean expedition, as Montalembert said of the expedition against Rome, in the interior of France.

Shortly before the acceptance of the prelimi Shortly before the acceptance of the preimi-naries of peace by Russia, it was generally cur-rent at Paris that Ronaparte contemplated a forced loan, to be borne proportionately to the amount of direct taxes. The racuum in his exchequer is forcibly demonstrated by the condition of his army in the Crimes. For some time past the lamentable state of the troops under Pelissier has been alluded to by correspondents. The plain statement which follows is given by a British noncommissioned officer writing to The Birmingham Journal, under date of Levastopol, January 5:

"To-day was very fine. About 3 o'clock a strong north wind blew, and it froze very hard, which soon made us button up. Our men do not feel the cold; but you would pity the poor French. They are eternally dragging fuel from Sevastopol. They are miserally clad and, I think, are worse fed. Every they are some of them looking for r of the day there are some of them looking biscuit. Our men pity them, and are very kind. Our sentries have orders not to allow them in the camp, because some were in the habit of s lining cogness which caused some of our men to get drunk. But the which caused some of our men to get Grans. But the poor French manage to clude the sentries occasionally, and introduce themselves with bono Inglis. Of course, our men know what they want, and never send them away empty-handed. The poor fellows have not so much as a glove to put on their hands. The only article I see they have got more than they The only article less they have got more taken they had in Summer is a hood to their great-coal, and a pair of common, coarse cloth guiters, which reach the knee, and are buckled round the knee with a few straps. They do not wear socks, and they generally have had boots. The fact is, they are the picture of misery, and indeed they feel it when they see the British soldier with his fine seal-skin cap, tweed coat, lined with few a fine large comforter round his neck and ith fur, a fine, large comforter round his neck and he round his waist, and a fine, strong pair of ex-hide boots which come to the knee.' The state of Napoleon's finances must be

wretched enough, when he leaves his army, his one and all, in the condition just described; same time, an inference as to their administration may be drawn from the fact that these two years of war have cost already more than all his uncle's can paigns, from 1800 to 1815, together. Even Bonapartist generals, returned from the Crimea, are said to have commented indignantly on the impudent rebberies of Morny & Co., at the expense of the army. These remonstrances have found publicity in a semi-official paper, which has the following:

"If peace be calciuded, the emperor will turn his whole attention to the finances, and especially to certain abuses too inherent to great movements of speculation, such as certain accumulations of incompatible effices, and certain fortunes a little too rapidly ac-

Meanwhile revolutionary symptoms manifest themselves in the youth of the universities, in the working-classes, in a portion of the middle class, and what is the worst for Bonaparte, in the army. On the affair of the Ecole Polytechnique, we are informed that Bonsparte, although sufficiently exasperated at their taciture attitude on the 29t of December when he played the Roman Senate with this army (as he likes to play the Roman Imperator with his Senate), at first meditated a compromise with the Ecole. The students were given to understand that the Emperor was inclined to maintain that institution, if they consented, as an opportunity would be given them to manifest sympathy for the dynasty. To this the Ecole replied by their delegates that not only they would not cry vire l'Empereur, but would drive any of emrades from school who should utter that their comrades from school who should utter that cry. It was upon this reply that the dissolution of the anarchical establishment was determined. One-half, composed of the pupils destined for mili-tary service, will be transferred to Vincennes, there to form a simple school of artillery. The other half, destined to the civil service, in the Ecole Normale. The building itself is to be converted into barracks. Such is the end of the pet institute of Napoleon the Great.

The prison of Mezas is filled with pupils of the

University of Paris, and with other young men who, at the funeral of David, the sculptor, had raised the cry of Vive la liberte. There was a cir-cumstance connected with the demonstration against Nisard peculiarly annoying to Bonaparte. The pelice having made their razzis among the students for having hissed Nisard's apotheous of Tiberius as the savior of Roman society, the rest formed in a body, and, traversing all Paris, went to Nisard's residence, Rue Courcelles, and sum-

mesed him to put their comrades at liberty. A detachment of soldiers of the line dispatched after them arrived there almost at the same time. Re-ceived with cries of Fire la ligne, they immedi-ately stood at ease, and refused to act. To prerent a further fraternization, they were at once withdrawn, and supplented by sergens de rille. The students removed in a body to the Odéon, where they invaded the pit, and kept singing the "Sirs de Fronc. Boissy," shouting the more offensive verses right into the ears of Bonaparte and

Eugenie, who were present in their box.

The Benapartist press confess that the number of arrests effected in the departments amount to 5,000; the figure given elsewhere of 15,000 is therefore probably the whole truth. This conspiracy of the laborers, it now appears, had its ramifications in the midst of the army. It became necessary to break up the whole school for non-commissioned officers at Lafleche, and to change all the garrisons of the center of France. In order to suppress this dangerous spirit in the Eugenie, who were present in their box. In order to suppress this dangerous spirit in the In order to suppress this amgerous spirit in the army. Bonsparte is having recourse to that most dangerous experiment of the Restoration, setting up a complete system of esplonage through all ranks of the army. This new legion of honor has led to some very lively altercations between Marshal Magnan and certain superior officers who do not this kit much to the taste of the troops.

The movement of the working classes of Paris, as in all times preceding a crisis, is betokened by qued libets, the greatest favorite of which is the

Voils qu'il part, voils qu'i part
Le petit marchand de montarde
Voils qu'il part pour son pays
Avec sous ses outils," etc.

To leave no doubt as to who is meant by the little mustard-vender, the police has prohibited the

The exteem in which Bonapartist institutions are held, is illustrated by an andecdote related in the Some Senators did not hesitate to approve of the act of M. Drouyn del'Hhuys in resign senatorship, but took good care not to imitate him. Morny being asked if any of them were likely to follow the example, replied that he had excellent reasons to believe the contrary. "But what reasons have you?" asked his interlocutor. "I have thirty thousand very good reasons, one franc a piece," coolly answered Morny.

One more circumstance may be mentioned of immense meaning in the present condition of the French people. I don't revert to the stock-job bers, for whom peace and war are equally convenient The first time in their history the of the French people have shown themselves in-different to their old hobby "la glorie." This eminous fruit of the revolution of 1848 proves in a manner not to be mistaken, that the epoch of Fonapartism has passed its climax.

AMERICAN WAR QUESTION. BRITISH SENTIMENTS ON WAR WITH

From The London Times, Feb. 4.

At a moment when an homorable peace is likely to be dearer than ever, and when we have been made to feel the momentous significance that may attach to the merest trifle, our readers will not hear without concern the first overt act of the American quarrel. The Executive of the United States has internal as well as external difficulties to encounter—the former not so much of its own making as the latter, and considerably more urgent. In fact, it appears that the detably more urgent. In fact, it appear hole machine of the Legislature has been whole machine of the Legislature has been brought to a dead lock, and that a state of things exists sufficiently alarming to a patriotic and sensible citizen, yet effering a decided opportunity to a dashing and teckless statemanship. It is not for us to say how knots of this sort ought to be untied. When anything of the kind happens in our own Parliament—and it has happened mere than once in the present generation—the good sense of the country is sure to speak out, and not in vain. The truth is, that in this country factions, strong as they are, do not constitute the whole of the community; but from the Court to the peasant there are numberless persons and institutions independent of party, and averse to its execuses. It is evidently far otherwise in America. A social tyranny there of party, and averse to its excesses. It is evidently for otherwise in America. A social tyramy there compels almost every man to choose his side, and to not his part, if he does not always feel it. So, when the sides are struck, and the actors told off, there remain no moderators of the controversy, no umpires of the strife, scarce, indeed, a dispassionate spect stor of the remain inclination. the strife, scarce, indeed, a dispassionate spect stor of the scene. From the tener of the recent intelligence from the States, it is plain that the President is as much absorbed in one of the parties now dividing the House of Representatives as the merest placeman is our own House of Commons, and he has been compelled to give his friends such desperate aid as could be expected from an act of annoyance to this country. Every day we expect to hear that our Minister at Washington has received his passports and is on his way home. That, of course, will compel a similar proceeding on our part with regard to the American Minister, and Mr. Crampton and Mr. Buchanan, the two inoffensive gentlemen representing their Governments at Washington and London, will probably cross each other on the Atlantic.

Happily, the relations between the two countries do

Happily, the relations between the two countries do not wholly depend on those two not wholly depend on these two gentlemen; and we know by European experience that it is possible for two States to go on well-indeed, it has been malicionely asserted better—without diplomatic representatives. A channel can always be found for any communication one Government may wish to make to another. It is possible, then, the only result of this misunderstanding will be that for some time we shall only have one Englishman the more and one American the less among us. We would very much rather it were otherwise; but as England has really apologized. were otherwise; but as England has really apologized enough to satisfy ten European Empires, we cannot hold her responsible for the estrangement. There are people whom it is impossible to quarrel with, and there are people with whom the impossibility is of the contrary sort; and, if the United States refuse to be pacified with the ample satisfaction already rendered, we must put them down in the latter of these classes. We can honestly declare our entire belief that in all England there is not one reasonable man who would desire to see the United States insulted or lowered in the eyes of the world by being compelled to desire to see the United States instance or owerest in the eyes of the world by being compelled to any act of self-abasement. It would be felt that the disgrace recoiled upon those we had com-pelled it, and that if we had compelled it there would have been something unnatural in the exigence of our pride. Surely there must be many in the tates who are still so much like Englishmen as to have the same feeling for those from whom they have sprung? To the world at large, the difference between an Englishman and an American is not so between an Englishman and an American is not so considerable, we may even say, as our actional vanity might suggest. The son is thought not so very unlike the parent; and when they fall out enemies only say it is the same arrogant temper developed in two different relations. In this instance, the parent has shown a more than common anxiety not to shock mankind with the spectacle of a domestic quarrel. We have made apolegies to our flesh and blood such as no earthly power could have extorted from us. But there are limits beyond which no consideration whatever should carry us, are intent that it is the duty of every State, as limits beyond which no consideration whatever should carry us, seeing that it is the duty of every State, as of every individual, to preserve its self-respect, which is, in fact, its moral existence. The British Govern-ment has only to sek the people whether they wish it to make more satisfaction to the Government of the United States than one gentleman makes to another, and the answer will be the same, quite as strong and quite as uranimous, as when that people were lately asked whether they would allow Russia to extinguish our ally in the East.

our ally in the East.

There is too much reason to fear that the powerful empire just brought to reason in the Old World put a false construction on the refluctance of the Western Powers to go to war. We have even been ourselves Fewers to go to war. We have even been ourselves accused of fostering her delusion. It is necessary, therefore, to guard against that mistake. We are perfectly aware, none more so, of the extreme loss, difficulty, and risk of such a war as a class of Republican zealots are endeavoring to force upon us. We are aware that we should at once interrupt the most valuable portion of our commerce and manufactures, and that our merchants would find a foe, as well as a rival, in every part of the world. We are able portion of our commerce and manufactures, and that our merchants would find a foe, as well as a rival, in every part of the world. We are aware that we should have to deal with an enemy inheriting all our exterprise and daring, but not burdened, as we are, by a national debt and a host of incapables, or trammeled by a Court, an aristocracy, and the routine, of which the Report from the Cramea we publish elsewhere discloses such sadly fantastic examples. We do not forget how quickly the United States raised the armies that reduced Mexico and wreated from her whole provinces. We know that 25,000,000 of men, of European, and chiefly British blood, are not to be despised. We could hardly expect to suffer much less damage than we could inflict. Nevertheless, we have not the least doubt in the world that the British people, even with all this put before them, would rather go to war at once than submit to national degradation. They would rather see their manufactories shut up, their machinery rust, and their ships rot in port, than require Government to render to any foreign power a more humbling apolegy than the occasion required. The Americans must therefore recken on an obstinate resistance, if they drive us to it. Let them count the cest before they take any fintal steps, else, after two or three years, khey will make the calculation in vain. The British people are very slow to ge to war, but

they are still slower to make peace, and will never nake a dishenerable one.

We think it our duty to caution our readers against any undue alaum in regard to the last news from the United States. The papers state, apparently upon authority, that Mr. Buchanau has been positively instructed to demand the recall of Mr. Crampton, our Minister at Washington, on account of the part he took in the enlistment of American citizens for the British service. Be that as it may, it is certain our Government will decline such a demand if made; for no sound-headed and right-minded man can have read the correspondence between the two Governments on this subject without seeing, in the first place, that there was no complicity on the part of Mr. Crampton in those transactions; in the next place, that any ground of complaint arcse entirely either from errors on the part of agents employed, or in their having acted beyond and against their instructions; and in the last place, that whether errors had been committed or instructions exceeded, full and ample reparation had been made by an apology from the British Government. There is only one word in the English language which fairly represents conduct, which, after such a course, still seeks to fasten a quarrel upon a good and powerful neighbor. Happily, however, for us, the great majority of the American people are as much alive as we are to the course which good taste, good sense, and patriotic principle dictate under such circumstances, and we have the best means of knowing that President Pierce is looked upon with as much displeasure by a majority of the American citizens as he is in this country. Indeed, it would appear as if every man in the United States who enjoyed any weight in the country, who was independent of the government of the President for the time being, and pear as if every man in the United States who enjoyed any weight in the country, who was independent of the government of the President for the time being, and who had a correspondent in this country, had availed himself of the last mail to tell us that we must regard all his varonings as the thunder of Mr. Pierce, ussuphimself of the last mail to tell us that we must regard all his vaporings as the thunder of Mr. Pierce, ussupported by the American people. This we really believe to be the case: and that when the small clique who for their own selfish ends would not hesitate to ombroil two great nations in a dispute, find that already a preliminary treaty of peace is signed with Russia, and an atmatice established, they will quietly sequiesce in the more sensible and patriotic views which the great bulk of the people in both countries entertain.

From The Leader.

of the people in both countries entertain.

From The Leader.

If we may trust The Meraning Post, we are on the point of scuding out a fleet to make war upon the United States. The alleged ground is that the Government of the American Republic has not been satisfied with the reparation made in the case of the recruitment. The reader may bear in mind that while the recruitment question was suffered to grow into a dispute where no dispute ought to have arisen, the the recruitment question was suffered to grow into a dispute where no dispute ought to have arisen, the real had blood is prevoked by a want of straightforwardness in the strict observance of treaty stipulations. At present, however, according to our cotemporary, the bazard of quarrel rests entirely upon the recruitment question. Now how does that stand?

The Morning Post takes two grounds. In the first place that sufficient reparation has been made. There are two parties to the decision of that question, and England cannot decide it for herself. If America is not satisfied, England has not done enough to secure the

gland cannot decide it for herself. If America is not satisfied, England has not done enough to secure the purpose of all reparation, and her only alternative would be to cancel the wrong done. As we do not know the amount of apology which Great Britain has made for violating, through her agents, the laws of the United States, we are not capable of giving our own judgment on the moral sufficiency of the reparation. We very much doubt, however, whether our statesmen who have the prefix of "Lord" to their names, are willing to make that genuine apology which was demanded by the case.

are wining to make that gendine apology which was demanded by the case.

In the second place it is maintained that no wrong was committed. We will state a parallel:

"In the year 1793 chizen Genet, the first Minister of the French Republic, signalised the commencement of his diplomatic career in the United States by fitting out, in the American parts, privateers to arrive again. It his diplomatic career in the United States by fitting out, in the American ports, privateers to cruise against Eaglish commerce—England being a power with whom the United States was at peace, although she was at war with France. Citizen Genet answered the remonstrances addressed to him by Washington, who naturally wished to preserve a position of honorable neutrality, by a most insolent letter, appealing from the President to the people, and Washington forthwith sent him his passnorts."

his passports."

There is much parallelism between this case and the There is much parallelism between this case and take present; the grand difference is that Genet appealed from President to people, which Crampton has not done; but the main principle is exactly the same, an infraction of the law and a violation of neutrality. What account of the precedent have we copied! That given by The Morning Post.

It is contended that Mr. Crampton is not implicated that the precise Government issued.

given by The Morning Pet.

It is contended that Mr. Crampton is not implicated as Genet was, because the English Government issued a circular stipulating that agents should do no acts which should constitute a violation of the law within the United States, or bear the appearance of recruiting within the United States; otherwise parties must expect no aid or assistance from the British Government. This is very good as a safegard against the acts of agents, but it does not do with regard to third parties. If I hire a man to trespass in the garden of my neighbor, and tell him to bring away certain things that he may find there, I do not exonerate myself from an action for trespass, by telling him that he must not violate the law of property, or do anything that looks like stealing. It is true that Hertz, Strobel and the other agents flaggantly violated the law, and ostentationsly flaunted their connection with the English Government; so that our Government, by its agents, directly violated that enactment of the Neutrality Act, which declares that persons should not be invited in the Union to go forth and be enlisted beyond the territory of the United States. We told our agents to do an illegal thing in a legal manner, and they betrayed us; but we have to apologise to the Union for sending them there at all, and the apology ought to be ample. If we are too proud to apologise, our only course is to cancel the wrong done, and leave the question in

them there at all, and the apology ought to be ample.

If we are too proud to apologise, our only course is to cancel the wrong done, and leave the question in state que. The first step would be to withdraw the chief of the agents who had so mismanaged the affair. Now, nobody casts much moral blame on Mr. Crampton, but he is officially the chief agent. If the express wish of the Union had been carried out, and he had been withdrawn from a post where he will no longer be useful, all subsequent difficulty might have been avoided. This might have been done without hamiliation to our Government or to Mr. Crampton. He might have been promoted to a higher post—to the St. Petersburg embassy, for example, which is to be revived just as the English legation at Washington is to be dropped.

be dropped.

Our Government chooses neither of the alternative but elects the tertime quid. The Morning Post hints that America has resolved upon the course described in ignorance that we are to be at peace with Russia. implying that the Americans would dare to resist usif we were at war, but not if we were disengaged. We need not point out the insulting character of such language. Our cotemporary continues:

"The naval power of England, never more fully described to the continue of th

"The naval power of Engiand, never more fully developed than at present, comprises a force of ships-of-the-line, frigates, and mortar and gun-boats, in comparison with which the entire navy of the United States is but a weak and inefficient squadron, and will, with a certainty of peace, be set at liberty to act in vindication of the national honor, in whatever quarter it may be assailed."

The Americans are told to consider whether a war should be reashly and weakly provoked, which should

should be rashly and weakly provoked, which should sweep American commerce from the seas, and "lay "the seaboard of the Union open to the attacks of the "greatest naval power in the world." Our cotemporary, therefore, somewhat more than hints that our navy is to be sent to "sweep American commerce "form the seas."

What will cotton-consuming, manufacturing Lan-cashire say to that? What will Birmingham, Bristol, Glasgow, or London! We put the question distinctly. eashire say to that? What will Birmingham, Bristol, Glasgow, or London? We put the question distinctly, Are Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Glasgow, Bristol, London, and half the British islands, prepared to see the English pary "sweep American commerce "from the seas," raising a storm in those seas which will intercept so vast a portion of English commerce? And all for what? Because our Government allowed itself to be involved in the petry treacheries of agents whom it sent to execute an illegal act. whom it sent to execute an illegal act.

The Chairman of the Liverpool Chamber of Com merce, at the annual meeting of the Chamber, spoke in strong terms against any interruption of friendly relations between the two countries. Other members expressed the same sentiments, but the Chamber did not adopt a formal resolution on the subject.

The Manchester Chamber of Commerce held its annual meeting on Monday, the 4th inst., when the following resolution, prepared by John Bright, M. P. was moved by the Mayor of Manchester and unani-

monsly adopted:

"Resolved That this Chamber has observed with doop regretated distilles have arisen between the British Government and the Government of the United States with regard to it construction of a treaty on the subject of Central America, as to attempts which are alleged to have been made to enlist me for the British army within the jurisdiction of the United States. This Chamber would argently impress upon the Government of this country the propriety of considering the questions in a conciliatory spirit, with a strong determination spare alike to the United Kingdom and the United States indescribable evils which must arise from any interruption amicable relations between the two countries."

The resolution was a manimously agreed to. M.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to. Mr. Bright made a speech on the occasion, which we here

"Mr. Bright recollected Mr. Cobden telling a story, which he learned when he was in Paris not long after the event happened, that at the time when affairs between France and England were very critical—he (Mr. Bright) believed it was with regard to the Tahiti business, or something equally absurd—a deputation came up from the Chamber of Commerce at Bordeaux to Louis Philippe. He was not sure they did not call the menarch out of bed, but at allevents they remained

much like finding a man guilty and saying, "The man is not guilty, but we hope he will never do so an more." [Laughter.] In this case, they seemed a express regret that they had violated the laws of the United States, and at the same time to argue that they had not violated the laws; but perhass we should such that out violated the laws; but perhass we should suggested the same time to argue that the house all the correspondence with regard to the matter. But this point was undentable, that our Government were in error in the course they had taken; they had fallen into the very thing Mr. Gibsen warned then against, when he said, "You must get into trouble "with these Governments if they are neutral." Whe should we have said if the Russians had engaged privateers in the harbors of America. And what was the chifference between engaging men on board ships and engaging men upon the land! It was quite clear the our Government was wrong, but the Americans with with him all night, arguing the question which was thus being handled by the diplomalists of England and France, and hurrying these countries into an apparently inevitable war, and they would not leave Louis Philippe until he gave them his word as a king that there should be no war between England and France upon that question. Now, at this moment we knew just this, that we knew almost nothing. All that we knew was that nothing could be known. Parliament had met; the correspondence between the English Foreign Office and the Americaa Government was not laid before it; everything was subterrancen, everything was concealed. Our Foreign Minister was going to Paris to attend the negotiations—he trusted, and he hoped was concealed. Our Foreign Minister was going to Paris to attend the negotiations—he trusted, and he hoped they all trusted, that he might be preeminently successful. (Hear, hear.) Their Foreign Office would then be left without its authorized head, and in the hands, no doubt, of the present Prime Minister. Now, Mr. Buchanan, the American Minister, had stated in a dispatch to his Government that if the Government of Lord Aberdeen had remained two months longer in office all the points of difference between England and the United States would certainly have been settled, and he (Mr. Bright) knew also that he had said so in conversation in this country. Unfortunately a state of things had arisen out of the smallest trifles which might bring us into difficulties as great in regard to America as those from which we were emerging with regard to Russia. The first steps which brought on a war were often so slight that a man would be laughed vaters in the harbors of America? And what was to difference between engaging men on board ships as engaging men upon the land? It was quite clear the our Government was wrong, but the Americans said we had not made attonement sufficient. Mr. Crampton, head obviously violated the laws of the United States they could not banish Mr. Crampton, because it was contrary to the rules of international proceedings; he his influence for good must necessarily be greatly impaired in that country, and therefore they asked us to recall him. It might be very unpleasant is withdrow a Minister, but there were this much more unpleasant than that. It was not not long since that we had a Minister kicked out of Madrid in consequence of a very unpleasant dispatch from our present Premier, which he had read there; and if our Government said. We won tread Mr. Crampton, because it is contrary to the dignity of this country. The (Mr. Bright) was of opinion that it was contrary to the dignity of this country to violate laws of the United States, and to take the count we had taken. No newspaper is England that he had seen had denied that our Government was wrong a this matter [Hear, hear]. But if we did not recall Mr. Crampton, the American Government would be in a very different position. He observed an insolent article in The Economist, speaking of President Piem as being only at the head of a clique, but when we pain into that position from which neither nation could not tract without what they called loss of honor; and the tract without what they called loss of honor; and the weshould see our £80,000,000 of property affords the occam, of which the Chairman had spoken, become the victim of privateers, and the whole Atlant would be as completely ravaged as the Sea of Andhad been by our own cruisers. He regretted to see the scrious tone that had been assumed, not only by our own press, but also by the more moderated the leading journals of the United States, and under all the circumstances, he should be very giad indeed to have some acti regard to Russia. The first steps which brought on a war were often so slight that a man would be laughed at if he supposed they would lead to any difficulty; but one step followed another on one side and on the other, until, by some blundering, things came to a point in which each party found his honor was concerned and he could not retract; and then the question of national honor became the question at issue, while the original cause of dispute was forgotten and buried, never having been worth a thought, and thus great nations were brought into struggles involving an enormous cost of hener became the question at saire, while the order cause of dispute was forgotten and buried, never having been worth a thought, and thus great nations were brought into struggles involving an enormous cost of blood and treasure. If the negotiations were open and we knew what was doing, he perhaps need not have had to come there or anywhere else to talk about the matter, because he believed public opinion would sauff out a great many of these things, but, he would ask, what would be the result, if the merchants of Manchester confided the management of their affairs, the buying of their cotton and goods, and the conduct of their export and import trade, to some concealed conspiracy, almost, among their servants? Why, they would have no safety whatever in their various transactions. In the words of the present head of our Forign-office we had "drifted" into the war in which we had been engaged, which showed the incapacity and feebleness that had been at the helm, and who knew that we might not be "drifting" into a warnow? He heard a man the other day, who was a violent advocate for the war with Russia, denying absolutely the preschility of a war with America, and becoming about a frantic in his denunciation of such a conthe heard a man the other day, who was a violent advocate for the war with Kussia, denying absolutely the possibility of a war with America, and becoming almost as frantic in his denunciation of such a contest as he had been eager in justification of the other; but if we got into the position in which we were after the Russians crossed the Prath and after the conferences in 1853, we might now have a war with America, unless we did something that would be an humiliation to this country; and he (Mr. Bright) was as much against doing anything that should bring humiliation on to this country as any man could be. It would be much easier now to make peace than it would be when passions had been roused on both sides, and when men had said things they would wish they had not said. Take these two questions—the one under discussion, and the case of the Bulwer-Clayton treaty with regard to Central America. Now he was not about to deny at all that the words of that treaty might be shown or be made, by a person as impartial as we could expect to be, to appear to be more in favor of the view taken by the Lengish Government than by the American Government. That was the epinion to which he had inclined on examining it. But at the same time he thought it was certain the American Government understood it to mean the other thing, or else they would never have agreed to it; and therefore he did not wonder that they took a different opinion from that of our own Government. But whatever the view was, it was not worth a straw to England. We had got a small town of 400 or 500 houses, called Belize, at the mouth of the river Belize, and two small islands, which were perhaps of no value at all; and, at any rate, this country was not going to engage in everlasting difficulties with the United States on their account. Lord Clarendon was willing to put it to arbitration, but it was one of those cases in which arbitration was difficult. If the From a London Dispatch. A good deal of pardonable irritation is felt here the the sympathies of a republican people should have been so unaccountably manifested during the press war in behalf of the great mainstay and sheet-anche of European despetism; and if the people of the Uni ted States permit their rulers to plunge them into war with Great Britain they will receive the mest ter rible lesson ever administered to national envy and quarrelsomeness (!!!) PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES ON THE AMERI-In the House of Commons, on the 5th inst., Mr. Col-en a-ked Lord Palmerston whether it was the lateden asked Lord Palmersten whether it was the late-tion of the Government to lay upon the table these respondence with the Government of the United State in respect to the Central American question, and the concerning the enlistment for the Foreign Legicals the United States? Lord Palmerston apprehended that the correspondence relating to these matters was not competed. Whenever it was, her Mojesty's Government would probably have no objection to lay upon the table sea portions as would put the House in possess on of the In the same House on the 8th inst., Mr. Cobde again asked the Government whether there was an objection to lay on the table the correspondence lating to our present relations with America. He reason for repeating the question was, that he did not think the reason the noble lord gave when he last up that the did not be the control of th the United States on their account. Lord Clarendon was willing to put it to arbitration, but it was one of those cases in which arbitration was difficult. If the arbitration were to decide whether the treaty was as the English Government said it was, or whether it was as the American Government said it was, then the American Government would give notice and abuse don the treaty, because they would never-consent that the ventergraphs and occupation of England should American Government would give notice and abasdon the treaty, because they would never consent that
the protectorate and occupation of England should
continue while they understood it should be abolished,
and still adhere to a treaty which said they should
never occupy; and therefore the end would be, that
the treaty would be at an end, and things would be
just as if it had never been made; and the result would
be that the United States, being on the spot, as compared with this country, would be pushing some way
or other—some of their ways he did not think were
very wise or very just—in that direction, and there
could be no doubt that, whether we went to war or
not, our children would find that the whole of
these countries were either in the actual possession or
deminant influence of the United States of America,
and nothing we could ever do could prevent if [Hear].
He could not say that if we chose to impoverish ourselves, and go into the workhouse in order to keep up
an establishment there, we could not do it, but that
would be all that we could achieve. He thought that
The Tisses gave admirable advice to them the other
day when it said it would be infinitely better that
this country should have no interest there whatever, and no sway over those savages in the Mosquito
territory, rather than have any interruption for a
single day of amicable relations with the United
States. But there was a question which presend still
more, which the merchants and manufacturers of this
district and of Yorkshire should have their attention

district and or forkanic about never that the trained to immediately. They recollected in December, 18:4, there was a short session of Parliament assembled, chiefly to discuss the bill for the enlistment

of foreigners. He was one of those who opposed it.

Mr. Gibson, his colleagne, also opposed it; and, to
show how unnecessary it was, he was not certain that
any single person call-ted under the bill had ever yet
got to the field of war or had taken part in any military

got to the field of war or had taken part in any military operation. Mr. Gibson's speech on that question, which he (Mr. Bright) referred to last night in Hansard, was admitted by everybody to be the speech which it was impossible for the advocates of the bill to meet in argument. He said, if we were going to have these foreigners, how was it to be done? Were we going to seduce men without the consent of their Governments to calist? Were we going to negotiate with individuals? Because that was contrary to the public law of Europe. We might negotiate with Governments if we liked; but if a foreign Government agreed with us to furnish men for war, they became

agreed with us to furnish men for war, they became parties to the war, and were no longer neutral, and therefore this bill was not necessary. It was only

necessary if we were going to obtain men against the will of their Governments, and by some consistance of the Government. Well, what had taken place? We found that in Prassia an English Consul had been imprisoned; that we had been enticing from the Hanse Towns, and from Hamburg, persons to come to Heligoland to enlist; and were it not that those Gov

eriments were too feeble, we should have got into difficulties with regard to them also. But the thing of all others that was to him most incredible was that

at all without an infringement of those laws; and they would find, from the report of the trial in the District Coart of the United States—of the State of Pennsylvania—against Heury Hertz, that the men he had alluded to were all

nia—against Henry Hertz, that the men he had alfuded to were all concerned in a plan to get men in the United States, not actually enlisting them there, but conveying them to Halinax, in Nova Scotia, or to Canada for the purpose. He would not say that there was any proof of the complicity of the English Minister there; he was not going to state the case against his own Government and country; and our Government had not laid their statement of the case before us; but it was clear from the evidence at this trial—and there was also the correspondence.

and our Government had not aim their statement of the case before us; but it was clear from the evidence at this trial—and there was also the correspondence, and there were actual letters of Mr. Crampton, the British Minister—that the whole of this proceeding was an attempt—so stapid that there was no language fit to describe it—to get a few knavish vagabonds in the United States to come to Canada or Nova Scotia to he enlisted in the British army. Men were enticed to Canada under pretense of geiting work on the railways that were making there; but it was known very well what they were really going for, and the thing was done so foolishly that it got into the Philadelphia newspapers. This created great unpleasantness, because it must be noted that there were a great number of persons in the United States who, from one cause or another, had not sympathized with England on the Eastern question; and also that there were a large portion of the Irish people there who had important reasons, as they supposed, for being hostile to this country. Well, the English Government stopped the er listment, but they did not make what the American Government called sefficient reparation or apology. So far as he understood it, in making an apolgy, they denice the commission of the offense, which was very

think the reason the noble lord gave when he last prit, viz: "That the correspondence was not completed," was founded on fact. There were two question of difference with America—one upon the English and American Guarantee Convention for the construction of a canal across the Isthmus of Darien, which we signed in 1850, and had given rise to differences evasince, and the other was upon the matter of calls ment. Now he had reason to believe that two correspondence on the first subject was concluded, at the deep made published in America and had been published in a pamphlet in England. It has been stated in the United States Senate the correspondence has been concluded, and been stated in the United States Senate the the correspondence has been concluded, and Lord Clarenden, in his last note to Mr. Buchass on the subject, made a similar statement. Upon the subject of enlistment in America, Mr. Cobdes after commenting upon the folly of sending to a fine climate, where men were carning four shillings a day to endeavor to get men to enter our service to do duty in a badjelimate for one shilling a day, remarked the in this case the Government had admitted its error and it was absurd, therefore to countenance the dapute. He submitted that the question might be discussed in that House, and that a way might teen be peaceably found to settle the question. He though the question of our relations would be better in that House than in the Government and the press. If a war broke out with America (and no werse calamity cauld be faith is country and the world, whatever pany was victorious.) the public of England would acteter upon it willingly, and such a state of things could only be brought about by secret ciplomacy or by the incitation of the public press.

Letd Palmerston, in reference to the first subject of the country of the cou more, which the merchants and manufacturers of this district and of Yorkshire should have their attention

CAN QUESTION.

Lord Palmerston, in reference to the first subject of difference with America, explained the treaty of 182, observing that its words were quite clear and distinct At the same time the American Government, wisked to put a construction upon it at variance with the originally intended. Some correspondence had take place, the consequence of which was that the English Government, while holding its own construction to be just, was willing to refer the matter to the aristration of any three Powers. To tais proposition America had not yet made any reply; however, by was willing to lay all the correspondence that he was willing to lay all the correspondence that he taken place on the subject on the table. With regard to the subject of enlistment, the English Government was led to believe that there were a great many persons in America who wished to calist in the service of this country, and, in consequence, a depot was forms this country, and, in consequence, a depot was fam-at Hahfax, and several hundreds of Germans were inted. But it being found difficult to continue will out giving umbrage to the United States, order was given to discontinue the proceeding. After the case a representation from the United States on the whom it was replicated that the continues the ject, to whom it was replied that the enlistment is been discontinued. Another dispatch was receive in England at the time of the meeting in Parliament in England at the time of the meeting in Parliament but the subject was exceedingly voluminous, and would be unjust to America to publish the foras correspondence without this dispatch; and it surjust to England to publish that dispatch without the answer of the British Government to it. [Hez hear.] He agreed that nothing would be more lamigous than a war with America, but he believe that if both parties and with a consider. spirit, an amicable arrangement neight be made.

After some remarks from Sir de Lacy Evans, b

THE RUSSIAN WAR.

of all others that was to him most incredible was that the Government of an economical country—a country that had adopted free trade and contained an association called a Chamber of Commerce within its dominione—should go three thousand miles to the westward, where the labor of a common laborer on a farm was worth 4s. a day, to enlist men and take them 3,000 miles to the eastward to fight men whose labor was not worth more than 6d. a day. [Hear, hear.] What they did was this. Mr. Crampton, the American Minister, Sir Edmund Head, the Governor of Canada, and others acting under the directions of this Government, had all been concerned in obtaining men in the United States. Our Government said directions were given that there should be no infringement of the laws of the United States, but the thing could not be done at all without an infringement of those laws; and they SIGNING OF THE PEACE PROTOCOL. The preliminary protocol, agreeing to meet at Pass within three weeks from date, was signed at Vissa on Friday, Feb. 1, by the representatives of France, England, Turkey, Russia and Austria. The follow

ing is a translation:

"In consequence of the acceptance by their respective Courts of the five propositions contained is the document hereunto annexed, under the title of Draft of Preliminaries," the undersigned, afterbasing president president acceptance in the contraction received. paraphrased it, conformably to authorization received to that effect, have agreed that their Governments shall each rominate Plenipotentiaries, who, furnished with the full powers necessary to proceeding to the significant of formal preliminaries of peace, shall concain amistice and a definitive treaty of peace. The saio Plenipotentiaries will have to assemble at Parawithin the term of three weeks, dating from this date.

cooner if it can be.

"Done at Vienna this 1st day of February, 1856.

"(Signed.) ISAM. (Australia, 1856.)

"(Signed.) BCOL. (Australia, 1856.)

"(Signed.) HAMILTON SEYMOUR, (Estable, 1856.)

"(Signed.) GORCHAKOFF. (Russe)

THE CONFERENCE AT PARIS.

The Conference AT Paris.

The Plenipotentiaries begin to assemble at Paris.

Passports have been forwarded to the two Rossian representatives. Count Orioff must have already left. St. Petersburg. Baron Brunow was to leave Fransfort on the 7th for Paris, and M. de Bourqueacy would set out from Vienna the same day.

The Monitour publishes the following official list of the Plenipotentials s:

the Plenjotentialies:
FOR PRANCE—Count Colonna Walewski, Minister
For Prance—Count Colonna Walewski, Minister
For Provigin Affairs of the Emperor, and Bana de
Beurqueney, his Envey Extraoreinary and Minister
Flynic otentiary at Vienna. FOR AUSTRIA-Count Buol Schauenstein, Minister

of Foreign Affairs of the Emperor of Austria, and Baron de Hubber, his envoy extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris.

FOR OREAT EBITALS—The Earl of Clarendon,